

L. 32 f. 23

A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation:

Composed by a French Gentleman a-
gainst those of the League in Fraunce,
which went about to perswade the king to
breake his alliance with England, and
to confirme it with Spaine.

By occasion whereof, the nature of both Nations is
liuely decyphered.

Faithfully translated, out of French, by R. A.

Ashley

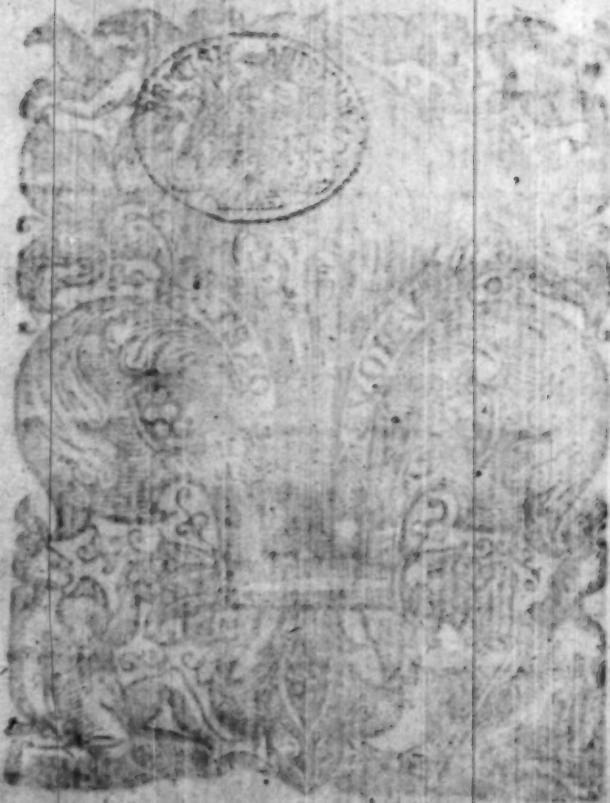


LONDON
Printed by John Wolfe.

1589.

the Desolation of the
Inhabitants of the Earth
in the Time of the Great Tribulation
and the Last Days in France
and in England, and in the
United States of America
and in all the Islands of the
World, and in the Cities of
the Earth, and in the
Country of the Devil, and in
the Deserts of the Earth.

A. & C. 1800. Printed for the Author.



LONDON
Printed by John Wolfe.

To the Right worshipfull, worthie, and
virtuous Gentleman, Sir William Hatton son
Knight, all happinesse.

His comparison of *England* with *Spaine*, framed (as it should seem) by some learned French gentlemā experienced in the estate of both Countries, but icalous (as he saith) of the honor of his owne; and (as appeareth) especially desirous of the prosperitie, and preseruation thereof; may serue vnto vs for a perfect patterne, and a liuely example howe farre the loue of truth is to be preferd aboue al other respects: yea euен aboue the dutie due vnto our Countrie, which ought notwithstanding to be in greater estimation amongst vs, then any reuerent respect of Parentes; or affection towardes friendes, kinsfolkes, or allies; or whatsoeuer else we holde dearest vnto vs. Which loue of truth in this author seemeth to haue beene ioyned with so zealous a care of the wel-fare of his Countrie, that like a skilfull & wise Chirurgian, he chooseth rather to rip vp old sores, which peraduenture may seeme to be healed outwardly; then to drawe ouer them faire scars, suffering them to rankle and fester inwardly. For eu'en as a good Phisician carefull to cure his patients maladie, and desirous of his health & recouerie, doth

his sight. The Epistle
not minister pleasant potions, if they be viprofitable to his purpose; but rather holesome restauratiues, though peraduenture somewhat yrkesome: So the author of this treatise, especially carefull and desirous of the good and flourishing estate of his troubled and afflicted Countrie, (which he learnedly prooueth to consist not wholy, though chiefly, in her selfe: but to depend much on her alliance, with such of her neighbour Nations, as may most aduantage or endamage her) to effect his perswasion for her benefite and preseruation, bringeth such proofes as (being but such as their owne Histories afford) may seeme partiall prayses of our Countrie, and purposed disgraces of his owne. Which roundnesse, and integritie of his made me at the request of some friendes, that vnderstood not well the French to translate it into English: which I vndertooke so much the rather, because it containeth the memorable, and valiant deedes of our renowned Ancestors, in that noble Realme of France; together with a rehearsall of the Spanish braueries: that the viewe of the one, and remembrance of the other, may stirre vp that courage which ought still to remaine in our English harts; that we do not degenerate from our noble Progenitors, but with an earnest emulation followe those happy footsteps of our famous forefathers:

Dedicatore.

and learne to despise those magnificent Dom Diego
and Spanish Cavalieres, whose doughtiest deedes
are bragges and boastinges, and themselues (for
the most part) shadowes without substance:
whose affected Monarchie, is like to prooue a con-
founded Anarchie.

This translation (how simple soever) I offer to
your courteous acceptaunce, not that any wayes
you neede it, or that in ought it may pleasure you,
or stand you in stede; who by your owne indu-
strious indeuours, and continued trauailes in for-
raine Countries, haue so abundantly made you
profite both in the French, and in other languages
and knowledge: but because I willingly embrace
whatsoever small oportunitie of expressing my
gratefull affection towardes you, for those mani-
folde benefites, which, by your good meanes, and
care had heretofore of my well dooing, I haue re-
ceiued.

Moreover, your benefites, not onely extended
towardes me, but heaped so largely on my name
and neerest friendes, by our Right honorable good
L. and Patrone, may by good right challenge at
our handes whatsoever any trauaile, industrie, and
endeuour of ours may bring forth to the extolling
of that honorable name, vnto the which amongst
the rest, I desire to be accounted as one that is most

The Epistle Dedicatore.

entirely and affectionatly deuoted. Thus crauing
your courteous acceptation, with the continuance
of your fauourable affection, I desire the almighty,
(who hath hitherto so highly faououred your
forwarde enterprises) continually to prosper your
vertuous proceedinges: both to the common be-
nefite, and your particular aduancement.

Yours, humbly affectionate,
Robert Ashley.



The Translator to the Reader.



Entle Reader, I was constrained by some friendes, to breake of a worke of some greater importance and larger discourse, to vndertake the translation of this briefe and pithie treatise. Ere I had fully finished it, there came into my hands another translation thereof, done by an Italian, and printed vnder the title of A Politike Discourse most excellent for the time present. On sight whereof though I had perfected mine, I purposed to suppresse it, or at least to reserue it to my selfe, and such friendes as seemed to like it.

But some being not satissified with this former translation, done by a stranger, and in some places (as they thought) estranged from our English phrase, were desirous of my copie; which (being but one) could not well content so manie. By occasion whereof: I was willing to publish it, seeking their satissfaction. And the rather was I thereto induce, because I found the treatise to bee so well liked, that the former copies were for the most part alreadie distractred.

The former title of a Politike Discourse, because it seemed too Generall, I haue chaunged into A comparison betweene England and Spaine, which seemes more neerely, & particularly to expresse the substance of the treatise.

The

To the Reader.

The paines which the other hath taken (howsoever
some mislike) I doe not condemne ; neither would I wish
him to be discontented, that he being a straunger to both
countries, can not satisfie all, in both languages ; for hee
which is borne in the one, and brought vp in both, is not
able to performe it. But though he misse of his marke,
yet thinke well of his endeouors : and where I want of per-
fection, there I craue the like construction.

Some errors in printing haue escaped vs : but such as
the discrete Reader may correct with iudgement.

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153

A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation.



ylla (a Romane Captaine) going about to induce *Bocchus* to that marchandise which he practised of *Iugurtha*, grounds his perswasion chiefly on this maxime: *That never man had friends enough*. A thing which common and ordinarie experience hath made vs so palpably to feele, and to see so evidently, that whosoeuer should gainsay or impugne this sentence, should shew him selfe voide of iudgement, and of common sence. And therfore it is that in our French tongue the cōmon prouerb saies (that who so hath a good neighbour, hath a good morrow.) thereby giuing vs to vnderstand, that he which maintaines himselfe in good estate with his neighbours, hath taken the best course that might be for his particular affayres.

For as there can be no greater corsie to a man, than to see himselfe pinched by those of whom he expect comfort and ease in aduersitie: so neither can there be any greater contentement, than to see himselfe so comforted and cherished of his neighbours that they are vnto him so many witnesses of his good behauour amongst them. Which being well weighed of such learned men as by their writings haue tracced out vnto vs the way to vertue, they haue made so high account of the regarde belonging to good neighbours, that for certaine respects they haue preferd it before the duetic due to kinsfolke and allies. That worthie and wise captaine *Themistocles*, did once declare that he had well comprehended this conclusion: for intending to sell an heritage of his as deare as he might, he caused him that cryed it, to say & proclaime aloud (to the end to enhaunce the price therof) that it was situated and stood amongst good neighbours. Now if in priuate matters the respect of neighbourhood be so

Salustius in
Iugurtha.

Hesiodus in
his booke
of works
and daies.

Cicero 1.
offic.

A comparison betwenee
 much to be had in recommendation amongst vs, how much
 more I pray you, in managing & guiding of an estate. What
 man is there so ignorant, in the affaires of the world, which
 knoweth not that the neighbourhood of the *Bulgarians*, oc-
 casionaling the *Turkes* entry and descent into *Greece*, opened
 the way vnto them to make themselues masters of whatsoe-
 uer they hold at this day in Europe?

The like may be sayd in respect of *Italy*: for the affaires of
 the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, *Genueous* and *Neapolitanos*, haue bin
 troubled, disturbed and disordered onely by the malice of a
 neighbour of theirs, euen *Lewes Sforce*, ysurper of the estate
 of *Milaine*: who to appease his particular passions made no
 conscience of disturbing the common quiet which *Italy* had
 so long enjoyed by the prudence of *Laurence de Medicis*: and
 exposing of his countrie for a pray to the armes and vio-
 lence of the French.

Contrariwise, if we looke neere into the estate of thinges
 past, we shall finde that many of the greatest houses in *Ger-
 manie* haue by the prudent policie and heartie affection of
 their neighbours ben preserued from the ouerthrow which
 was threatened by the common calamity. In the tyme of
 our fathers, euen the yeare 1504 Phillip Conte Palatine fel
 at variance with the Emperor *Maximilian*, & the issue ther-
 of being no more prosperous, than the enterprise was righte-
 ous, he was banished the Empire & driue to great perplexi-
 tie. But *Frederike* duke of *Saxonie*, his neighbor a wise prince
 and of great vnderstanding did so mildly handle this matter
 that all the tempest was changed into a sweete and pleasant
 calme. Wherin notwithstanding, I am of opinion, that prin-
 ces can not pretend any aduantage aboue Aristocratie and
 popular estates. Euery one knowes how that about fourtie
 yeares since *Charles* duke of *Savoy* inuaded *Geneua*, the pos-
 session and lordship whereof he had left vnto his successors,
 if the men of *Friburgh* fellow burgesses and allies to those of

Geneua

Genes had not made him open his iawes, and let goe the
pray which he had betweene his tooth. magbui vni nisoinba
I alleage these familiar examples, of fresh date, because I
would not stay too long on those of ancient time, & namely
of the cōmon wealth of *Athens*, whose practice was alwaies
to relieve their distressed neighbours, being beaten or ouer-
thrown by any ciuill encounter. Wherof the reestablishmēt
of *Thebes*, will serue for sufficient testimony, as long as mans
life shall enjoy that good happe to be lightned by the lampe
of learning. These then are pertinent reasons to make vs vnder-
stande how carefully kingdoms & estates are to be vnder-
propped by the friendship & faithfulness of their neighbors.
But as this point is of great importance, so it requires a pro-
found and mature consideration: for men which are not so
cleeresighted nor practised in the affaires of this worlde, are
so much the easier deceiued, as a vaine appearance can deck
and set forth it selfe with a shew of sound commoditie.

And to manifest this matter by example, and by deduction
of a particular deed to make way to the decision of a genera-
litie, I will speake of that which more neerely concernes the
ordering of our owne affaires. There is none be he neuer so
voide of vnderstanding, but seeth & plainly perceiueth the
poore and miserable estate, whereunto France loosing her
ancient brightnesse is brought at this day by the cruekie and
continuance of ciuill warts. Every one confesseth that shee
wants a restorative to relieve her of so pernicious a recidive;
notwithstanding, they agree not all in one concerning the
confection & ingredients proper and sortable to such a re-
storacion. True it is that they who by dealing in affaires and
managing of matters, haue aduantaged themselues in expe-
rience, do come thus farr forth: that following the rule of
good Phisicians, the maladie must be cured by his contrarie;
and seeing that the sicknes of France comes only of vnqui-
enes, that nothing can be more auailable to the restoring

A comparison betweene

of her former helth, then a good & assured quietnes: which aduice in my iudgement, is better grounded on reason, then cleerly discussed. In confirmation whereof, when there is question of the quiet of our country, he were too much out of the way that would bound it within the circuit of France, not caring greatly in what estate she be with her neighbors, so that her inhabitants live in peace one with an other, and the flame of ciuill wars be extinguisched.

But although I readily confess that the matter being once reduced into termes of calling into one of the two inconueniences, there is no forraine war how difficult or dangerous soever it be, but we ought to vndertake, if thereby wee may warrant our countrie from a ciuill warre: yet so is it that the entire prosperitie of an estate is founded on the exemption of both inconueniences: except we thinke our age to be specially priuiledged, that we may haue war without the necessarie appendances thereof which are miserie and pouertie. They then which endeouour to procure the good and quiet of France, ought to aime at this marke, that not onely al coales of ciuill combustion may be quenched, but also that she mainteine her selfe in good estate with her neighbors: & especially with those whose alliance is most commodious and most assured vnto her: which in my iudgement is a point no lesse necessary then difficult to decide, by reason of the diversitie of their passions, who prefer their priuate profit before the common commoditie. So it is that if vnto the deduction of this doubt, we bring no other passion, but an ardent affection towardes the truthe & a zealous loue of our countrie, we shall soone decide this difficultie. And I do not think when euery thing is cast and accounted, whether yoye consider it in grosse, or else have particular respect to the time present, that there is any of our neighbours, whose alliance can be so commodious and auaylable vnto vs as that of Engle-land. On the contrary I am of opinion, that in which in estate

matter's would in treatise of popular errors could not choose a more ample argument, then to shew that such as ordinarily call the English ~~ancient~~ enemies to the estate and crowne of France, thinking thereby to be accounted learned amongst the ignorant, discover themselves to be utterly ignorant amongst the learned. And for so much as divers Courtiers, whom I haue heard discoursing on this argument haue come to this conclusion, that they prefer the alliance of ~~Span~~ before any other whatsoever, having regard (as they say) to the safetie and welfare of France, I purpose to dispute this question, which in my iudgement hath no better foundation, then a partialized affection, or else too little knowledge of the affaires of this world. I hope then by lively reasons to enforce, that the alliance of *Englaund* is much more expedient for vs, then that of *Spaine*, & by the same means to cleare the generall controuersie, and to make knowne that there is no people in the world whose alliance is so commodious & so necessarie vnto vs, as that of the English nation. And to lay some foundation for my opinion, I say that whē there is question of making alliance with some nation, there is principall regard to be had of two things: th' one that those whose alliance we preferre, haue more wayes & meanes to helpe vs: th' other that they haue also more meanes to害ing vs, being once become our enemies. And I pray you what people is there in this world, that hath iuste occasiō to love vs; then the English, which are allyed vnto vs in bloud, conformable in manners, and brotherly given to the selfe same vniuersall inclinations? which I meane not onely of those which at this day we call English, but also of the ancient Britains, the remeinder of whom we see at this day in the countrey of *Wales*, who though they agree in manners, fashions, customes, and usages; yet in language they differ from the whit inhabitannts of *Englaund*. Cesar who first amongst the Roman Captaines discouered, and had knowledge of the

Cesar lib. I
de bello
Gallico.

A Comparison between

estate of this ille reueched vs that one part of the Britaines, that is, they which dwell neare the sea, haue taken their origi-
nall of the *Saxons*: the same author hath also left vs in wri-
ting, that in his time the king of the *Switzers* named *Dini-
smacy*, did rule also ouer great Bricaine. And therefore is it no
meruaile if the Britains (especially those that inhabite about
Kend) were agreeable in humanitie and maner of living with
the French. And indeede, if we iudge by that which we find
in writing, nothing can be sayde more brotherly then these
two Nations.

That I may not busie my selfe too much in listing out par-
ticulars, I will speake only of the *Druydes*, which in auncient
time bare rule in both Nations.

These *Druydes* were Poets and Priests, as in ancient time
was *Hesiodus* in *Greece*. Most certain it is that the first among
the Grecians, who haue adorned their countrey with the know-
ledge of learning, comprehended all their doctrine in verse:
as *Homerus*, *Hesiodus*, *Orpheus*, *Musaeus*, *Linus*, *Empedocles*, *Pat-
menides*, and *Pithous*, of whom *Plutarch* maketh mention.
And therefore it is that *Plato* hath attributed so much unto
Poets, calling them fathers and fountaines of wisedome.
These *Druydes* were also Mathematicians & Philosophers,
which make me, that I can not comprehend wherupon *Ca-
tero* should thinke, when he compared the Britains with the
Scythians, in respect of their ignorancie of the Mathematices.

If he relied on the testimonie of his friend *Tributius*, eu-
erone knowes him to be a wryter as may be gauided much
out of the wrothes of *Cato*, *Quintilianus*, *Quintus*, *Ca-
tullus*, *Complutus* & *Caesar*. But it seemes that *Cato*, upon other
whise of exequitie judgement, would needes vouch the say-
ing of *Thales of Miletus*, who being asked how farre trueth
was different from falsehood, answered, as farre as the eyes
from the eares. So may we say in respect of that whiche we
are nowe in the world, that we acknowledge vices in Caesar, and
cares

Cesar lib. 2.
de bello
Gallico.

Plutarchus
in Theseo.
Plato in
Lysida.
Cic. 2. de
natura de-
orum.

Cesar lib.
de bello
Gallico.

cares in *Ciceron*. But howsover it be, either that the Britains
recciuied the knowledge of good letters from the Gaules, or
the Gaules from the Britaines, so it is that the young men of
France, for farther aduancement in their studies, transported
into Britaine, to the *Druydes* of that countrie, of whom they
learned the most hidden secrets of Philosophy & of the Ma-
themathicall sciences. If we report our selues to what *Cesar*
hath written hereof, the Philosophie and doctrine of the
Druydes had his first beginning in great Britaine: which opi-
nion I willingly embrace: howbeit, that rare and excellent
personage, *Petrus Ramus* seemes in a worke of his to holde
the contrarie. No manuell then, if so learned a Nation, and
so well nurtured in good letters, hath beene endewed with
so singular humanitic sorteable to their knowledge, and such
as whereof our ancient Gaules haue gathered the principall
fruite. In so much that *Cesar* intending a descent into Bri-
taine, alleageth for his purpose another pretence, but that
the Gaules had beeene succoured by the Brytains in all their
quarrels which they had against the Romans. But if any one
thynke that those people which since the time of *Cesar*, haue
made themselues masters of *Gaule* and of *Britaine*, namely
the English & the French, haue not had so firme friendship,
but rather lesse occasions of flowing one another, he deceiueth
himselfe as much as he that is ignorant, howe great is the
force of that friendship which is founded on naturall al-
iance, the memorie whereof can not be blotted out, neyther
by tract of time, nor distance of place. The Citizens of *Sais*
in *Egypt* layd that their Cittie was founded by the Goddess *Minerva*, as did also the *Athenians* of theirs: In contempla-
tion of which alliance as *Plato* witnesseth, the Grecians in
generall, and specially the *Athenians* were welcomed and
well intretained at *Sais*. It resteth nowe to consider howe
straightly the French are vnit to the English, and what de-
monstration of friendship they haue made from time to time

Ramus de
moribus
veterum
Gallorum,

Cesar lib. 4.
de bello
Gallico.

Plato in
Timao.

the

the one to th' other. Neither is it sufficient to say that they haue had great and long warrs together, even in the memory of our great grandfathers, for by the same reason shold we banish amitie from amongst all Nations of the earth. By the same reason shold we conclude that there could be no friendshipe amongst the French themselues, who even of late daies, haue furnished a stage in their own countrey with the bloudiest tragedie that euer was heard of. And touching the wars betweene the English and French, I hope hereafter to shewe in due place, that so farre off is it that this consideration shold bring any alteration of friendshipe or amitie betweene them and vs, that contrariwise it ought to enforc at our handes some increase of good will in their behalfe.

For God hauing given them so great aduantages ouer vs, as euerie knoweth, it is hard to say whether this noble nation haue shewn themselues more valiant in fight, then mild & gentle after the victory. To lesse purpose yet serue those vnseemely speeches, which may be heard in the streetes as well of *France* as *England*, as among the rest these tyme, *Cullion*, and *French dogge*, which is the rethorick of Peddlers, Tinkers, Coblers, Rogues and such kind of people, not the language of honest and ciuill persons, such as we purpose to intreate of in this discourse: laying aside then al such baggage and tromperie, let vs speake of the naturall amitie which is betweene these two Nations.

In the time of the Emperors *Martian & Valentinian*, about the yere of Christ, 449, *Witgerne* king of great Britaine, desirous to repulse the *Picts* and *Scots*, called to his ayd the *Angles* or *English*, who dwelt then betweene the *Vires* and *Saxons*: And indeede the *Welchmen* at this day call the *Englishmen* *Sasses*, as who would say, *Saxons*: which hath beene ensured me of some leartid men of that countrey. It resultereth then of this discourse that the *English* are come out of *Germanie*, as the *French* are also according to our

Histories. And howbeit that in respect of the French Nation, I durst not affirme that they are descended of the Saxons: yet so it is that the house of our kinges, which at this day swayes the scepter in France, drawes his stocke from thence, as is best knownen to them who are best seene in Histories. For *Windekind* a Saxon of the line of that great *Windekind* subdued by *Charlemayne*, came into France to succour *Charles the balde*, beeing then much molested by the *Normans*. This young *Windekind* had a sonne called *Robert*, who so fortunately followed the footsteps of his father, that *Charles the bald* made him generall of the armie which he sent against the *Normans*: who at that time foraged the countrie of France. This *Robert* was slaine in battell, leauing a sonne called *Otho*, who by consent of the Emperor *Arnold*, had the gouernement of France, during the minoritie of *Charles the simple*. Whence he got him not so much reputation, as in that hee was father to *Hugh the great*, Earle of *Paris*. But *Hugh Capet* sonne of this *Hugh the great*, exceeded in glorie and splendor all the forenamed, as well in that he was chiefe of the absolute estate of France, as in that he left a Royall posteritie behinde him, which swayes the scepter diuided into two houses, namely *Valoys* and *Bourbon*.

So may we conclude, that if the French and English may not be called by the terme of *Charondas quodammodo*, that is, liuing together, or according to *Epimenides quodammodo*, that is, partakers of the same smoke, or as they say, brought vp together at board and at bed, yet may they by good right be termed *quodammodo*, that is, descending from the selfe same extraction.

And although this alliance be of it selfe sufficiently cleared by the Historiographers, yet is it better confirmed by the conformitie of maners of these two Nations, and the good comportmentes of the one towardes the other. The Englishman as also the French is generous, and by consequent as Aristotle teacheth farre from dissimulation, hating or

Arist. lib. I.
cap. I. polit.

Arist. Ethic.
lib. 4. cap. 3

louing openly, rather led by truth then by opinion, louing the effect better then the appearance, free in speech, louing his libertie, and easily forgetting iniurie: moreover, he is liberall, ciuill, courteous, and gentle: of all vertuous qualities, I thinke that in them are to be found as many cleare and euident testimonies as there are places that speake of their exploites in vnpassionate Historiographers. For in respect of ciuitie what better witnessse can wee haue then *Philip de Comines*, who himselfe had experience thereof in behalfe of the lord of *Yaucer*. I should speake of a thing but too wel knownen throughout all the world, if I should spend manie words in discoursing of their magnificence and liberalitie. Certainly if that be true which *Herodian* writes of barba-
rous men, namely that they are naturally greedy of money, Englishmen are sufficiently discharged of the blame of bar-
barousnes: howsoeuer some ignorant, or passionate writers, haue endeououred to stayne them therewith. But to what purpose is it to stande long on this point, seeing the experi-
ence, and testimony of noble and famous personages dooth openly ratifie my saying? That good *Vidame of Chartres* of famous memorie (who for that himselfe was one of the most liberall Lo. of our time, might best speake of liberalitie) said openly that if there were any Nation in Christendome more liberall and courteous towards strangers, then the English, he would be reckoned amongst those which talke rashly of thinges which they know not. He which hath suc-
ceeded him as well in his vertues as his heritage, protesteth often that he dares not to speake of the humanitie, liberalitie and courtesie of the English Nation, fearing to begin a dis-
course, the entrie whereof were found much easier then the issue. *Odet Cardinall of Chastilion*, had ordinarily this say-
ing in his mough: that courtesie had once imparked her selfe in France, but that now she was passed ouer the sea.

This discourse would demand longer deduction, but I
am

Comines
cap. 34.

Herodian.
in Commo-
do,

am a Frenchman and ialous of the honor of my countrie. Plutarch writes that the great Rethoritian *Molon*, hauing on a day heard *Cicero* declaiming in Greeke, saide lamenting, that he deplored the estate of Greece, whose richest orna-
ment (meaning eloquence) *Cicero* carryed away with him. For my part, though I am no lesse affectionate towards the English Nation then commands the desert of their vertues, yet so is it that I am sorrie to see them so richly arayed with our spoiles. In so much that England may by good right be accounted at this day the very Sanctuarie of all ciuitie, kindnesse and courtesie: the testimonies whereof may be seene not only towardes their friends, and in time of peace, but even in time of warre, and towardes their enemies. Of many examples I will chuse one so notable, as I knowe not whether the like be to be found in the Greeke or Latine Historiographers. Amongest all the battels which were euer fought in France, that of *Poyriers* is worthy the remembrance, not onely for the inestimable losse of the vanquished, but much more for the courtesie and generositie of the vanqui-
sher. For the Nobilitie of France was there hewen in peeces, many Princes and great Lordes made prisoners, and name-
ly king *John* himselfe fell into the handes of the Prince of Wales, who had him afterwardes into England where he receiued so good and gracious entertainement of king *Edward* father to the Prince of Wales, that being on his fayth and ho-
stages returned into France, to giue order for his affaires, after he had thoroughly considered the entertainement that was made him, he sauoured and liked so well of the English courtesie, that he esteemed it more honorable to die neere so noble a Prince, then to liue as king of the greatest and mightiest kingdome in Christendome. *Porus* an Indian king, being taken by *Alexander*, and being asked of him how hee desired to be dealt with at his handes, I am (sayth he) a king, let me be vsed Royally, as belongeth to a king. *Alexander* be-

Plutarch in
the life of
Cicero.

ing farther instant on him to know what he demāded more: this word *Royally* (sayth he) comprehends all, which made that *Alexander* esteemed highly of him afterwardes, and intaryned him according to his demand. But this courtesie of king *Edward* ought to be esteemed so much greater then that of *Alexander*, as *Porus* tooke no armes against him, but constrainyd for his owne lawfull defence: and contrariwise, king *John* would not accept such honest cōditions of peace, as were offered him by the Prince of *Wales*, although the *Cardinall of Perigort*, being sent by Pope *Innocent* laboured to bring him to some composition. But hee being ouermastered by his choler, was ouercome by a handfull of people, and lost a battell the nineteenth of September, 1356. which can not so well be compared vnto any as to that memorabile exployt at *Cannas*, which was like to haue ouerthrown the whole estate of the *Romaine* common wealth. And al- though ciuill warres are ordinarily managed with a courage so much the more inuenomed, as the alliance is straighter betweene countrie men: yet so it is (if we credite Histories) that there is not in all the world any Nation founde, which in this respect hath remained in such and so long a posses- sion of moderation, and clemencie, as the English. *Comines* who hath beene as much or more acquainted with the af- faires of England, as any Frenchman of his time, sayth that the custome of the country is in ciuill wars, to come straight to battell, & that the chiefe of that side, to which the victo- rie enclines, causeth to be proclaymed aloud, *Save the people.* That I would to God wee had vsed the like moderation in our ciuill warres, we should then at this day haue fiftie thou- sande more witnesses of our dissention, the shedding of whose bloud prouokes the anger of God against our coun- trie of France. But because that being occasioned as well by naturall affinitie, as by conformitie of manners, to loue a people, is not a thing of it selfe deseruing any great comen- dation

Comines
cap. 112.

dation without endeavour to make demonstration thereof: the order of our discourse requires to haue this article fistred yet somewhat neerer, to the end that such as call the Englishmen ancient enemies to the crowne of France, may learne eyther to speake better, or else to holde their peace, when soever there is question of any such matter. I say then that the effectes of amitie haue bin alwayes reciprocall beween these two Nations. For laying aside that which I alleged out of *Cesar*, that the Britains had alwaies succoured the Gaules in all their warres. I will take testimonies of fresher memorie, of a hundred or sixe yeares past.

In the time of king *Lewes* the eleventh, *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*, desirous to clip the wings of his mortall enimie *Lewes* of France, called to helpe him *Edward* king of England, his brother in lawe, to whom there needed not much speech to make him passe ouer into France, whercunto he wanted no pretence. There was then great likelihood, that if the duke of *Burgundie* had well knowne howe to vse his prosperitie, he had eyther quite ouerthowē, or at least wonderfully shaken the whole estate of France. But king *Lewes* being a Prince much better furnished of wisedome, then of courage, considering to what exigent his affayres were brought, procured or rather cunningly practised a treatie of peace with king *Edward* at *Pignignie*. One may well say that at that time the mildnesse of king *Edward*, serued in steed of a strong and mightie bulwarke vnto France, against the furious and impetous effortes of the Burgonian.

Charles the eight, the sonne and successor of *Lewes* was fauoured of heauen, so farre foorth as to haue occasion to acknowledge this courtesie towarde the English Nation: who was as readie to embrase such an occasiō as it was happily offerto him. *Edward* of whom we last spake being deceased, his brother *Richard* duke of *Glocester*, by cul practises and vnlawful meanes, inuescid himselfe with the crowne

of Englande, defrauding his Nephewes of their inheritance. If the meanes of inuesting himselfe with so great an estate were strange and exorbitant, his behauour and comportment therein was yet more strange. Such and so miserable was then the estate of poore Englande that he escaped best cheape, who went away with the losse of his goods, estate, and dignities. Diuerse of good calling and account, to saue themselves out of this shower, retyred into France. The Noblest and of greatest name amongst them was the Earle of *Richmond*, who hauing a while sojournd in Britanie, finally resolued himselfe to recouer with his owne god, the libertie of his countrie. This newe *Thrasibulus*, wanted neyther friends nor partakers: for he had succor of king *Charles* the eight, with whom he passed ouer into England, where hauing giuen battell with happie successe, he had for guerdon of his prowesse, the estate and crowne, which hath euer since remained on the head of his successors. I would not stand so much on the courtesie of England, were it not that in our time even within these sixtie yeares the effects thereof had beene so good, and so manifest on our behalfe, that it were blockishnesse in vs to be ignorant thereof, and great loosenesse if we did not acknowledge it.

Since the battell of *Poytiers*, France received not so great an ouerthrowe, as at *Pauie*, where king *Francis* was taken prisoner. The Emperour *Charles* being yet a young Prince, and boylng with ambition, after so fayre a victorie, entered into maruellous hopes, and helde himselfe assured that within fewe yeares, the vniuersall Monarchie of Europe would be the interpretation of his *Plus oultre*. And indeede there is great likehood that the forces of France being so mated, he might if not wholly, yet in part haue seene the accomplishment of his desseignes, had not God (beholding our countrie with his pitifull eye) stirred vp the heart of *Henrie* the eight king of England, to stay the course of the Emperour

See the hi-
storie of
Bellay.

our striking with full sayles through the midst of his victorie. An act deserving so much the more admiration as king *Henrie* had no other occasion to do it, but an Heroicall vertue, with the which his courage being once enkindled, hee choose rather to appropriate vnto himselfe the sole honour of relieveng an afflicted neighbour, then to be copartner with the vanquisher in the spoyle and pray. In so much that we may well say, that king *Henrie* the 8. next vnto God hath beene the author of our deliverance, and that the Lion hath plucked vs out of the Eagle his claves. And we must not thinke that he sought herein either his owne priuate profit or particular safetie. For touching profit, besides that which the euent hath made knownen, the protestation which hee made by his king at armes, defying the Emperor doth shew sufficiently that he had no other end but honor and vertuous exploytes, which in ancient time, as sayth *Theocritus*, haue gotten the title of *Heroes*, to great and renowned persons. And in respect of securitie, the Emperor being as the affectionate towardes his vncle king *Henrie*, for greater confirmation of amitie, a mariage was intreated of betweene him and the Ladie *Marie*, eldeit daughter to king *Henrie*.

In somuch that all thinges accounted, the English had then no cause to be affraid of the Emperor. Moreover, the Emperor could not enterprise any thing on the estate of France without parting stakes with the English, for their olde pretence vnto *Guyen* and *Normandie*.

This matter deserueth longer discourse, but I studie after breuitie, that I may speake somewhat of king *Edward* the sixt, the sonne of king *Henrie*. This Prince was so full of vertue and the feare of God, that he may by good right be calld the *Iosias* of the new Testament, and the Paragon of Princes Christian. But laying aside his rare vertues, whereof the best speakers can speake but too compendiously, I will only touch that which neerest concernes our subject.

*Theocritus
in laude
Ptolomæi,*

This

This Prince by the counsell of the late duke of Northum-
berlande carried to enire, and sincere an affection to our king
Henrie the seconde, that if God had leut him longer life,
there had betne a league made betweene these two kinges
& duke Maurice of Saxonie. In such sort that there is great
lielihod that an alliance made betweene three such migh-
tie Princes, had then brought the Emperour Charles to take
that part which afterwardes he tooke, that is, to retire him-
selfe into Castile, to the Monasterie of Saint Iust. I speake not
of his humanitie vsed towardes our poore Frenchmen, fled
into England for refuge in a time, when to make p^{oss}ession
of a Christian life in France, was but to expose themselues
to the death. This obligation is common to vs with almost
all the Nations of Europe, whose exile hath beene honored
with the assistance and comfort of this most holy and hap-
pic king Edward. Happie (say I) not only in respect of him
selfe, but for that he hath also in his sister the Queene Eliza-
beth so perfect a portraiture, and so right a resemblance of
his most Christian and Heroicall vertues, Which causeth
that all such as throughout Europe ar^e indued with sound
judgement, do wish of all thinges in the world, eyther to be
the subiectes of such a Prince, or at least to liue vnder the
subiection of such a Prince as might most resemble her. But
I dare not undertake to set foorth the prayses of Queene E-
lizabeth, in respect that if I should omit any one of her rare
vertues, my discourse would not be well taken of the better
sort; and to go about to discourse of the by particulars, were
never so haue done. Taking then a shorter course, I will on-
ly say that she hath made demonstration of her good will to-
wardes France, as often times as the estate of our affaires
hath presented her any occasion. Above all, she hath alwaies
showed her selfe affectionate to the intetayning of peace
with vs, being induced therunto as well by her owne cleare
insight and wise forecast, as also by the mature & sage coun-
cill

sell of the right vertuous and noble Lords Sir *William Cecil*, yet at this day Lord Treasurer of England, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, of worthie memorie, sometimes Lorde Keeper of her Maiesties great Seale; personages indued with so high and eminent wisedome, and so happily qualified in all kinds of vertue, that he shall well deserue a place amongst the best speakers that shall duly set foorth their praises to posteritie. For my part I magnifie that most mercifull God which hath so well married good happe to the vertue of these two English *Nestors*, that in them may be seene the accomplishment of that prayer so much celebrated by *Callimachus*.

Callimachus in hymno Iouis.

Χαῖρε μάτερ, χαῖρε ἀνθρ., δίκε δ' ἀρετῶν τὸν ἀριστόν·

Οὐτὶ ἀρετὴ ἀπεριστάτησις ἀνθρώποις αἰτεῖται.

Οὐτὸς ἀπέτι αἰρέσθαι δίδεται ἀπετίκωτε καὶ ὄλεσθαι.

O blessed father be thou blest,

Give virtue, giuing store:

Goods without virtue do no good,

with vertue enermore.

And virtue feeble feeles her force

if so she live in want.

Then blessed father vertue giue

and let not store be scant.

It remaines now to speake of a like demonstration of amitié towardes vs, and yet in a case much vnlike. France hath not in it any greater ornament, then the Citie of *Paris*, nor the City of *Paris* then the exercise of learning, which hath beene there continued, euer since the time of *Charlemaine*: that is to say, since the yeare 792. euen till this day with such reputation, that in the time of our fathers, to haue studiēd at *Paris*, and to be well learned, were two diuerse termes signifying one and the selfe same thing. But if this benefite be great, (as it can not be otherwise accounted sauing of such as want judgement) we can not acknowledge to haue received it of any but the English Nation, except we will in de-

priuyngh the of their deserued praise, beraue our selues also of being reputed a people that lones roundnesse and integritie. For *Charles the great* was inducted to this so happie an enterprise, by the counsell of *Flactus Albinus* an Englishman, seconded by two Scotishmen, the one named *Ioannes Milrosius*, the other *Claudius Clemens*.

But even as euill counsell, by a iust iudgement of God falleth ordinarily to the prejudice of him that giues it; contrariwise the author of good and holy counsell, is hee who willingly tasteth the first frutes thereof: So the Englishmen haue reaped the fruite of that good and wholsome counsell of *Albinus*, and his companions in that the Vniuersitie of *Oxford* is a branch of that of *Paris*. But because wee see men to be so much the more inclined to thinges vnto the which they are drawen for the conseruation of that which doth nearest concerne them: I say that the safetie of England toucheth vs so neerely, and our safegarde so neerely the English, that one of the two Nations, being distressed by a stranger, the other may make reckoning that they ate not long to enjoy any great quietnesse. It is knownen that as soone as *Cæsar* had set on foot the Romaine power in France, he thought hee had not well played his part, vntill he went to remoue household into England. The histories haue so cleared this article, that it were but superfluite of speech to extende our selues any farther in deduction thereof.

I would now that some one of our maisters of the Court, who are so affectionate and make so great account of the alliance of *Spaine* wold shew me the like motives & groundes of their opinion. But I assure my selfe, that they will not put themselues to the paynes of proouing any naturall affinitie betweene the French and Spanish, vntesse they fetch it from the Arke of *Noe*: or else make reckoning of that which the Poets tell touching the beautifull *Behrie*. Whiche neuerthelesse were an argument as feeble as far from the purpose

as is knownen to such as are seene in the knowledge of antiquite and specially of Poeticall fictions.

But being now entered into this discourse, it will not bee impertinent to speake of the originall of our Spaniardes at this day. For euē as waters which run out of sulphur springs, haue alwayes a taste of brimstone, so men carrie alwaies imprinted in their manners, the vertuous or vicious qualitie of their ancestors. So that hauing knownen the originall of the Spaniardes, it will be a good opening to the discourses ensuing. About the yeare of Christ 717. *Indian Count of Biscay* being extreemely greeued, and exceeding desirous to be reuenged of the outrage done vnto him by *Rodericke* king of the Gothes, who had defloured his daughter, called and drew vnto him the *Moores* for his succor, vnder the conduct of their king *Muza Maramamolin*. Vnder this pretence (so safe a thing is it to bring in forraign forces) the Moores made themselues masters of all Spaine, except Biscay and Austerlande: their captaines hauing afterwardes parted this conquered countrie amongst thē, became so many pettie kings in Spaine. Since that time the *Saracens* haue beene mingled farther amongst them. But if wee will fetch the matter yet farther about (that is) from *Cæsar* time, we shall finde that without speaking of the Romans, who commanded almost ouer all Europe, the *Gothes*, the *Vandales*, the *Moores*, the *Saracens*, haue ruled ouer Spaine. Therefore if of good right the *Gothes* and *Vandales*, are counted cruell, the *Moores* perfidious and reuengefull, the *Saracens* proud, and villanous in their manner of living. I pray you what humanitie, what faith, what courtesie, what modestie, and ciuitie, may wee thinke to finde amongst this scumme of Barbarians? But to the end it be not thought that I rest rather on presumptions, then on proofoes and sound argumentes, I am content that this article be cleared by conference of their manners with ours, that is, of their vices with our vertues, or their viles vi-

liacquerie, with our generositie. In breefe, such is this comparison that if some Rhethoritian would employ his eloquence in framing of a long and liuely Antithesis, he could not in the world find a subiect more sortable to his purpose, then the comparing of our conditions with those of this mongrell generation.

And to the end that none may thinke that I speake without booke, to beginne with the blazon of their brauest colours, I will produce a witnesse, who will make them blush for shame, though they be so brasenfaced, that they blush not by their wils. If I should but say, that the witnesse whom I purpose to produce, is a Senatour of *Venice*, yet had I sufficiently qualified him to make him get credence of wise and discrete persons. But I will say moreouer, that he is an ancient Senator, and so well seene in the affaires of this world, that for a man to conforme himselfe after his imitation, is nothing else at this day amongest the *Venetians*, but to aspire to an immortall renowne, by a most wise conduct of matters of estate. It is (to be short) that excellent and renowned personage *Andrea Griti*, who discoursing in the Senate of *Venice*, of the humors of this Spanish generation: beholde what good testimonie he giues of their integritie. The Spanish Nation (sayth he) is vnfaithfull, rauenous, and insatiable aboue all other Nations. And where is (I pray you) that place of the worlde, where those infamous Harpyes haue once set footing without defiling of it with the footsteps of their abhominable vices?

Guichardino, lib. 15

But because that in matter of proofe, the testimony of one alone is of no great weight. I will yet produce an other witnesse which is *Francis Guichardin*, an Historian so accomplished, as the naming onely of his giftes and perfections, would desire and deserue a whole Historie. Behold what testimonie he giues of the Spanish integritie. The Spanish Nation (sayth he, giuing his iudgement of these venerable

Padres)

Padres) is couetous and craftie, and when they haue meanes to discouer themselues, such as indeede they are, most insolent and outragious. *Geryon* king of Spaine (if we giue credite to Poeticall fables) had three bodies: and although it be a Poeticall fiction, yet will it not be found so strange of him that will thoroughly consider the nature and disposition of the Spaniarde, in whom may be scene togither incorporated, a craftie Foxe, a rauenous Wolfe, and a raging Tygre. And let that be spoken in respect of the least insupportable of that Nation. For he which shall neerely looke into those of greatest account amongst them, that is, such as are more wicked and abhominable, then the vulgar sort, he shall find in euery one of them the Cube: yea oftentimes the verie Sursolide of this terrarie monster. He shall finde (I say) an vncleane and filthie swine, a theeuish howlet, a proud peacocke: and for an accomplishment of all their ornaments, he shall find a legion of diuels, making trade of lying, coo-ning and deceauing the world.

Briareus (as Homer sayth) had a hundred hands: he which shall thinke that a Spaniard hath lesse when it comes to cat- ching, let him receaue, be it but for a day or two, some *Dom Diego* into his house, and if he change not his opinion, I will be content to confesse, that the Spaniarde hath changed his custom. I say if pilferie & theft be rather to be esteemed cu- stomarie, then naturall in this Nation. And if any doubt of their sufficiency in this respect, the estate of the low countries will so manifest it vnto him, that he wil soone be brought to cōfesse that the *Bohemians* & *Ægyptians*, are but young pren- tises of the Spaniard in appropriating other mens goods to theselues. And he shold do the great iniury, who shold think that with time they had not made themselues more cunning in their craft, specially these later yeres, during which a great many of these gallant spirits haue serued their apprenticeship vnder *Dom Ferdinando of Toledo*, so soueraign a master in this

Guichard
no. lib. 16.

Homerus
Iliade. a.

Virg. *Eclog. I.* facultie, that to go about to compare vnto him all *Antolicens*, or a *Verres*, were to fall into the errore of the sheepheard *Tytirus*, comparing small things vnto great.

But me thinkes it were reasonable to hide the imperfектions of this great Captaine, in contemplation of such excellent partes as are in him. For by the saying of his disciples, and vpholders, he is secret, wise, & of great vnderstanding. As touching his taciturnitie, I doubt not at all but that he is verie secrete. Neither is there any thing, specially in his particular, and domesticall actions, but may by him & his with more honestie be concealed than vttered. Touching his great wisedome and forecast, he hath giuen such and so many testimonies thereof in the conduct of Flanders affayres, that if the Sunne should as often eclipse in heauen, as wisedome hath in his head, during that time there, wee might well thinke that we were on that daies eue, which shal bring an end to all things of this world. At the least, it is notorious, that his wit so farre fayled him, as that he knew not how to hide those theftes and robberies which hee had committed on the poore people (for the thing is too well knownen) but those pillinges and peculations, which he made on the treasours of his maister, I knowe well that his creatures disguising the deede, say that hee remayned in arrenges. But laying aside these colours of *Castillan Rhetorick*, I say roundly, that our French tongue is so bare, that it hath no other tearme fit enough to specifie the good dealing of the Duke of *Alua*, but theft and robberie. And therefore if at this day he practise as well in Spaine with the lute, as he hath doone with the harpe in Flanders, king *Phillip* may well sende backe his *Seuerino* into Italy. But howsoeuer it be, the king his master hath reprehended his auarice, but yet not with rigour, hauing respect peraduenture to the order of the fleece, which I dare well say, hee hath no better reason to beare, then because he first steeched, and then devoured as a rauening

ravening Wolfe, the innocent sheepe of a good shepheard. For we must not thinke that hee and the rest of that Spanish rascall, spared any more the bloud, then the purses of the poore people of the lowe countries: for they had commandement so to do. And their Prince was not with any thing so much moued, as in that they did not handle the yet more extreemely. That soone mayest thou O new *Pharao*, by thy miserable death make an end of the waylings of so many desolate persons.

But if any one thinke that the courages of the Spaniards haue been so inuenomed against those of the low countries, for the different of Religion, he shewes that he is as little acquainted with their naturall disposition, as with the state of their affaires. It is about a hundred yeares since they discouered a new world, vnder the conduct of *Christopher Columbus*, who in my iudgment would neuer haue vndertaken this voyage, if he had thought that the men whome hee brought thither, as if they were charmed by the cup of *Circe*, should straightwaises be transformed into Lions, Panthers, Tigres, and other fauage beastes. The Indians and Americans are poore barbarous, and simple ones: such as by good conuerstation, and godly perswasions, might easily be wonne vnto Christ, which way the Frenchmen haue since that time both wisely and happily followed. But in truth we may well say that this new Indian and American world hath not beeene so much vndeclared in times past: as the new and enormous cruelties, which these diuels incarnate comming out of Spaine, do there put in practise.

O Turkes, O Scithians, O Tartarians, reioyce yee now, sithence at this day there is found in Christendome a Nation, which by their wicked and detestable deeds, go about to burie that hatred which is borne to your barbarous crueltie. But I dwell too long on so tragical a subiect, which notwithstanding I do with as great griefe as with iust occasion.

Laying

Laying aside then such an argument as is sufficient to make *Democritus* weepe, let vs speake of two articles, eyther of which is such as hee had neede to be possessed with an humour more then *Heracliticall*, that hearing and considering them neerely could abstaine from laughter. It is of their ciuitie and modestie.

Touching the first, if any haue had that good hap neuer to haue beeene conuersant with Spaniards, and would notwithstanding be informed according to the truth of their Gothish ciuitie, hee can not see a more liuely portraiture, nor a draught drawne by the hande of a happier *Appelles*, then *Terrance*, in the description which hee makes of harlots in his *Eunuch*, in these termes: *Quz dum foris sunt, nihil videtur mundius, nec magis compositum quicquam, nec magis elegans.* And a little after he addeth: *Harum videre est ingluuem, fordes, inopiam, quam in honeste sole sint domi, atque anida cibi: quapacto excire besterno panem atrum vorent.*

I would say more, were it not for displeasing of the delicate sort: and we haue here set the Spaniardes on stage like good Apothecaries, to furnish our selues with laughter at their charges. And I pray you what man is there so melancholy, that could forbear laughter, seeing a burden-bearer, a cobler, or a carter, to call himselfe Caualiero: or else to see a Caualiero of Spaine, going thorough the fields, to carrie the fragmentes of his dinner in a budget, and to play a thousand other peasauntly partes, which the carriers, coblers, and carters of our countrie would disdayne once to haue thought on. The Mathematicians teach, that in the operations of Algebra, the most equall is often reduced vnto lesse. The speeches of the Spaniardes do much resemble this diuine Algebraicall misterie: In so much that ordinarily these great and magnificent titles of a grand Caualiero, hauing ten thousand duckets of reunewe; make as much beeing taken at their true rate and value, as an vnthrifte, a rascall and

a runnagate, hauing scarce thirtie Maluedies in his purse, to pay for patching of his pantosies. So that one may well say to those magnificent *Dom Dieges*, as sometimes said a great personage of *Athens*, your discourse is like to the Cipres tree, which being great and high bringeth foorth no fruite.

Plutarchus
in Phocio-
ne.

To be short, he that would see a lively picture of an *Attalus*, a *Suffenus*, or a *Thraso*, without troubling himself too much in turning ouer *Martiall*, *Catallus*, and *Terence*: let him onely consider the sterne lookes, and stately speeches of a Spaniarde. And although these tarcelets of Saracens be qualified, as I haue sayde, yet haue they with blowes of pilstolets so blinded the eyes of some of our Courtiers, that they are not ashamed to maintayne, that wee are much bound to these honest creatures. For my part I confesse I am not so sharpe witted, as to see the foundation of this obligation, except they will take it in the same sence that *Antiochus* did, saying that he was much beholden to the Romans, who haing shortned his authoritie and power, had eased him of a huge and heauie burden. Euen so are wee indebted to the Spaniards, in that they haue eased vs of such trauailes as the estates of Flanders, Naples, and Millayne, might haue brought vnto vs. And moreouer to intreate yet farther of their good affection towardes vs, is not this a testimonie of their cordiall Spanish amitie, which they vied in tithes past to our ancestors, (according to their cruell nature) that haing wonne the battell of our men, they slue afterwardes all the prisoners they had in their hands, as *Froyard* witnesseth? Would any man craue a clearer interpretation of that which heretofore I alleaged out of *Guycharaine*, that this Nation is most insolent, when they haue found their aduantage to discouer themselues as they are, that is, to take off the maske of their hipocrisie. It is also a faire testimony of their courtesie towards vs, that contrary to their promised faith, they massacred our men in *Florida*, about twentie yeares since. I had

*Cicero pro
Deiotaro.*

Looke
Froyard.

almost forgotten to produce one notable effect of their courtesie towarde vs, that is, the imprisonment of king *Francis*, which himselfe tooke the more greeuously (as *Guichardine reportes*) because the remembrance of the English courtesie towarde king *John* was deeply engrauen in his memorie. What testimonie of amitie towards vs is that which the Spaniardes will alleadge? shall it not be the succour which king *Henrie of Castile* gaue in the time of king *Charles the fist*: and the victorie which hee wonne before *Rochell* of the Earle of *Pembroke*? As if he himselfe had not reaped the principall fruite of this victorie, or as if such an assistance had not beene the chiefe rampire of his owne estate.

But as the English are conformable vnto vs in so many thinges as I haue heretofore alleaged, so they haue that also common with our miserie, that they haue tryed to their cost the most dangerous amitie of the Spaniardes. For *Phillip king of Spaine*, and then also king of England, hauing purposed to possesse himselfe of *Callis*, gaue occasion to the French to do that with the Lyons clawe, which the Spaniarde had thought to haue done with the Foxe his tooth: otherwise the French would never haue resolued themselues on so hazardous an enterprise as the siege of *Callis*.

To make short, one may well say, that the Nation of the worlde which is most affectioned towards the commonweale of France, is that which least resembleth the Spanish, which so much the more boldlie I conclude, as I hold my selfe assured that none will paine himselfe so much as to proue that they haue beene helpefull vnto vs, eyther in the knowledge of good letters, or in gouernement of our manners. For what lightning vnto learning can be expected of a Nation which during this happy age hath scarcely brought foorth fve or sixe learned men. Thence I thinke it is, that the Spaniardes (as great trauaylers as they are) never durst go so farre as to the *Hiperboreans*, fearing belike, least they yet
kept

kept their ancient custome, that is, sacrificyng of Asses. For gouernement of manners, we may well lay, that as the Philosopher *Polyanus*, being once wedded to the dotages of *Epicurus*, forgot all the knowledge which he had of Geometry, so by the acquaintance of Spaniards, we haue almost forgotten that vertue which we were best acquainted with, that is, courtesie and humanitie.

Pindarus
ode. x. Pith.

Cicero in
Lucullo.

And to what purpose I pray you, should that Nation bee so affectionate vnto vs, who hath so little interest in our ouerthrowe? nay rather which hath alwayes, and especially within these hundred yeares, founded their aduancement on our destruction. I abridge this discourse of purpose, to intreate of an article of more importance, that is, the means which both the one and the other hath to helpe and to hinder vs. I wil speake first concerning traficke, and after touching matter of armes.

All such as haue knowledge both of England & Spaine, will agree vnto me, that Englaude is much better stord of people then Spaine. I speake not in respect of proportion, but absolutely (although England be by a great deale the lesser) which proceedes onely of the temperature of the place. For although France be one of the temperatest regions that are, yet so is it that *Cæsar* sayth expressly, speaking of England, *Loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia*. This abundance of people is a certain argument of the fertilitie of the place. *Pindarus* in some place calleth *Sicilie πολιωναρος*, that is, abundant in sheepe, and expounding himselfe, in an other place he calleth it *παπα*, that is, fat or fertile. If the argument of this solearned Poet be well couched, we may well conclude, the fertilitie of England, by the great abundance not onely of sheepe, but in generall, of cattell which is in it. Here (it may be) some will alledge the saying of *Cicero* in his oration entituled *De Aruspicum responsis*. For beholde with what wordes he speaketh. *Quam volumus, licet ipsinos amemus:*

Pindarus
ode 1.
Olym.

Pind. od. 1.
Nem.

Cicero in
Lucullo.

ramen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pae-
nos, nec artibus Grecos, nec denique hoc ipso huic gentis ac terra
matino sensu Italos ipsos ac Latinos, sed pictate, ac religione omnes
gentes ac nationes superauimus.

But in this place it is easie to see that Cicero had rather eares, then eyes, as well as heretofore speaking of Astrologie. And that in this discourse, hee would play the part of a rather

Plinius li.7.
Cap. 21.

Miruicides, making a great ado about a small matter! But to what purpose is it to stande much on this article, since the trafficke of the one and the other countrie, may easily cleare it. We haue out of England, Wooll, Tinne, Fish, and many other thinges in great quantitie. In exchange whereof wee furnish them with wine, salt, woad, and diuerse other thinges, which is the cause that *Rochell*, *Bourdeaux*, and generally all the coast of *Normandie*, *Britaine*, and *Guienne*, is brought into great perplexitic, when the traficke ceaseth with Englaude.

Out of Spaine, I confess, we haue very good Horses for seruice, although they come but by stealth. Which I doo neuerthelesse against my will, because that confessing this article, I am constrainyd to accuse the negligence and sloth of our Frenchmen. For if we would maintaine such races of horses and mares as are scene at *Lanedan*, our traficke with Spaine should be accounted of meere charitie: for as much as we shold helpe theſe very much, without being holpen or eased by them. For the marchandise of a fewe perfumed gloues, and ſuch other ſmall baggage, deserues not to be accounted of. And for their bechooſe they are constrainyd to borrowe of vs, (by reason of the drincleſſe and barrenneſſe of their countrie) that which is moſt neceſſarie for the life of man, which is corne. As for wine, they haue ſufficient. There remaines the traficke of wooll, of kerſyes, and clothes both woollen and linnen, which comes not to the thirde part of that which our Marchantes haue out of Englaunde. Neither

will

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11. ditib

will it serve to say that he may haue store of corn out of such places, as he holdeth in *Italy*, as out of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Millaine*. For they which husbande the matter after this manner, do not consider that this were but robbing of *Peter* to pay *Paule*. *Sicily* is fruitless I graunt, but it behoueth that *Malte* and the *Goze*, be sustayned by her fruitfulness, except they will in abandoning of them, expose hemselues for a pray to the *Turke*. Moreouer a great part of the commodities of *Sicile*, are employed on the maintenance of *Italy*. But in respect of *Millaine*, and of *Lombardie*, the Spaniard findes such difficultie of carriage, that hee can not well helpe himselfe with the commodities thereof, except the sause cost him much dearer than the fish is worth. Touching *Naples*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, as they are lesse fruitfull, so also the Spaniard can be lesse holpen by them. The like may be sayd in respect of the lowe countries.

Some peraduenture will finde it strange, that I stande so much on the infertilite of Spaine, seeing that the great meanes which this Nation hath to helpe vs with, make a more then sufficient counterpoise, for this default. Heere must I needes employ that *Quolibet*, which the Judges of Rome were woont to vse, when they found themselues perplexed for the decision of some matter of importance, that is to say, *Non liquet*. But this perplexitie of mine, is so much the lesse, as it may easily be remoued by comparing of the meanes as well of England as of Spaine. If we will measure these meanes by the number of souldiers which the one and the other Nation is able to set forth: experience, (that is *Historie*) pleadeth manifestly for the English. And, that so it is, king *Edward*, of whom we haue spoken afore, brought to the ayde of the Duke of *Burgundie*, by the testimony of *Comines*, fifteene hundred men well mounted, the most of them on barbed horses, and richly furnished. Also fifteene thousand Archers on horsbacke. In our time king *Henrie* making de-

Guichardine lib. 12

scent into Picardie, to ioyne him selfe with the Emperour Maximilian the first, at the camp of Terouane, had ffeue thousand horse, and more then fortie thousande footmen, wheroffe ffeue and twentie thousand were English, and fifteen thousande Lansquenets. The Emperour *Charles*, and his sonne king *Philip* haue beene the Princes, who haue commanded most absolutely ouer Spaine: yet neyther the one nor the other haue in their warres made greater leauie, then eight thousand naturall Spaniardes, and almost all footmen. For in respect of horsemanship, the Spaniarde somewhat resembles the sword-fish, which hath a blade, and can not helpe himselfe therewith. The same may be saide of the Spaniardes, who haue very good horses which serue their turne better to traficke with their friendes, than to fight and repulse the enemie. But because that the memorie of late accidentes may serue much to the deeidng of this difficultie, I will here alleage so cleere and evident a testimonie, as that whosoeuer makes reckoning of Spanish forces, shall haue nothing for ground of his opinion, but either a light beliefe, or an opinatiue conceipt. During the raigne of king *Francis* the second, when the great ones of France were at discord amongst themselues, king *Phillip* wrote a letter to the king, which was read in the priuie Counsell: I can not well say in what language it was written, but the contentes seemed to smell of the Spanish phrase. For he protested that whensoeuer any sturres happen in France, hee woulde helpe the king his brother, with an armie of fiftie thousande men. Shortly after occasiō was offered of effectuating that which he had so solemnely protested. For France was torne with a tempest of ciuill warre: And although our miseries made almost as many fountaines of teares to issue foorth, as there are townes in France; yet gaue they vnto the king of Spaine occasion to reioyce, in furnishing him with meanes, to accomplish his promise. Let vs see then how well he acquired himselfe.

himselfe. He was requested to send succour vnto the King his brother, being desirous to restablish the Romish religion in her former estate. He, because hee woulde not be thought to be backewarde, eyther in zeale to his religion, or amitie towarde his brother, assembled certaine troupes of those prudent & religious persons, whose ordinarie practise is in the straigthes of the mountaynes *Pirenees*, to take gold without wavyng it, and siluer without telling it. Neither yet to the number of fiftie thousand as he promised, but of two thousand only. In sort that it was easie for good Arithmeticians to iudge, that this good Prince making such protestation as aboueslaide, had calculated his meanes by the rule of false position. Touching the behauours of these braue and valorous souldiers, to him that considered them neerely they seemed to represent I know not what Image of the ancient times, during which as *Thucidides* writeth, robberie was not subiect vnto any reproch. The respect of these goodly qualities, made the Romaine Catholikes to lament so much the more the losse of these honest men. For they being incamped on the riuier of *Tard*, those *Amazons* of *Moun-
tauban*, in certaine sailyes killed a great number of them, without confession or repentance of any sinne, sauing of that which is termed militarie temeritie, and ouersight of warre. But because that in comparing diuerte thinges togither, the Geometricall proportion is to be accepted aboue the Arithmetical, he were not much out of the way, who would iudge rather by the valour and desert of both Nati-
ons in deedes of armes, then by the number. For oftentimes a small number of men doth ouercome a great armie, and treades them vnder foote. I am exceeding sorie that I can not produce any better testimonies of the English prowesse, then those great and notable victories which they haue gotten ouer vs. Yet so it is that our valiant Successors wanting nothing lesse then courage and good will, in those battailes,

Thucidides
lib. 1.

the

the English can not vaunt themselues of any thing, more then that they ouer-came most valiant enemies. So those Poetes and Historiographers, who haue song of their prosperitie, could not therewith but report our valiancie. In briefe, the vertue and prowesse of our auncestors, deserued not to be surmounted by any, but by such enemies as knew how to vanquish euен victorie it selfe, that is to say, the furour and insolencie of victorious armes. Let the *Carthaginians* boast, as much as they list, of their happie successe at *Cannas*: yet he that should preferre it aboue the battaile of *Cressie*, should shewe himselfe eyther too much appassionate or too simply skilled in the knowledge of histories. Out of which we may gather, that in the sayde renowned battell which was fought in the yeare 1346. there were slaine on our side eleuen Princes, foure score Barons, a thousand and two hundred horsemen, and aboue thirtie thousande foote-men. Also the battell of *Poytiers* (whereof I haue spoken heretofore) gaue the like testimonie as well of the English prowesse in winning of the victorie, as of their courtesie and mildnesse in vsing of it moderately; which makes mee the more freely to speake of their vertue, and roundly to confesse that the smal number on their side, haue made their victories the more notable and renoumed.

It were against reason to request the Spaniardes, in this comparison, to furnish vs with the like examples of their prowesse and valiancie, for they are discharged of so doing by that rule of lawe which sayth, that none is bound to the execution of thinges which are impossible. I should feare also of being accounted a forger of Paradoxes, in saying that the Spaniardes are no warlike Nation, if I had not so cleare and euident proofes thereof, that to denie them were but fast shutting of a mans eyes, that he might not see the sunne shine at noone day. And to seeke out the depth of this matter, and to reason of effectes by their causes, I say that if na-

ture

ture haue not changed her ordinarie course of working; the Spaniarde can not any wayes be reputed amongst the warlike Nations. Those Nations which inhabite colde countries are (as Aristotle saith) indued with a more hautie and stout courage then others: but not so quicke and sharp witted as other. And therefore they loue more their libertie, but are not so fit to beare rule ouer their neighbor Nations. Contrariwise, the Nations of *Asia* are more quickspirited: but being of baser courage, they yeolde their necke sooner vnto the yoke of bondage. And therefore, hee concludeth that the Greekes holding the midst betweene extreme heate and extreme colde, are partakers of both complexions. But as his proposition is founded on so good a consideration, that all men of vnderstanding will alwayes yeelde vnto it, so dare I to affirme, that in the applying thereof, the loue of truth gaue place to the loue of his countrie. For the most Northerne part of Greece is of fortie fourc degrees, which is the elevation of that quarter where *Constantinople* is situated, and also of the mountaines *Pyrenees*, which separate France from Spaine. And therefore the fife and fortith de- gree which is the very bound of temperature, marking out the middest of France, we may well say, that our countrie is more temperate then Greece. But although Englannde be as much or more northerly, then any part of France, yet being on euerie side enuironed with the Ocean, the colde is nothing so excessive there, as it is in France, which Cesar very well obserued. And therefore it is easie to conclude, that by reason of the situation of the place, that the Englishmen are both warlike and wise, that is to say, accomplished with whatsoever is necessarie to a ciuill life. For the force of bodie is no lesse requisite in execution, than the dexter- itie and vigour of wit, in deuise and deliberation, as very well Nem.

sayde the Poet *Pindarus*. *Pindarus* pindarus on tos or in an old vncolled
Iow clerks to mynnded brygand on old in an old
But

Arist. lib. 7.
cap. 7, po-
lituc.

old. *Principes des rois de France*, that he had composed out
of his owne booke, betweene aduertisementes of his abstrakte
Though doughtie deedes are done by might, T. a. 1601. M. 1
With counsell graue the minde gives light.

And it is not sufficient to say, as *Comines* doth, that the Englishmen are very cholericke; a passion which of all others doth most trouble a mans iudgement, especially when he is at point to resolute himselfe. For well it might be so in the time of *Comines*, when Englishmen were not yet so well polished, as they haue bin since by the knowledge of good letters. But since that by the liberaltie of king *Edward* wee haue seene two *Athens* in one England, that is to wit, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*: it were hard to iudge whether that so mightie a realme, hath beeene more plentifull in the fruites of the earth, then abounding in fine, subtile, and most excellent wits, meete for the managing of matters of estate. It is about three or foure score yeares past, that the Italian made the same reproch to the Frenchmen that *Comines* dooth to the Englishmen: namely that they could not skill of matters of estate. But since the time that king *Francis* replenished France with learned men, by meanes of the professors which hee caused to come from all partes of *Paris*, the Italians should flatter themselves ouer much, if they thought that in conduct of ciuill affaires, the Frenchmen were any whit behind them. Therefore it is that *Petrus Ramus* (a man whose renowne flyeth daily through out all the coastes of the world) did so much enforce himselfe in his familiar talke, to extoll the liberaltie, and other excellent vertues of king *Edward*, and Queene *Elizabeth*, that he thought he never had a matter worthie to worke on with his wonderfull eloquence, except he were discoursing of the nature of a Princeely and Heroicall vertue, whereof he represented a true and liuely portraiture in the actions, and behauour of these two Princes.

But

Machiauelli
in lib. de
principe.

But the desire which I haue with the meanes, to shewe that the Spaniarde is no warlike man, makes me to be somewhat the shorter in discoursing of the wisedome of the Englishmen. I take that reason which I alleaged out of Aristotle to be sufficient to put backe the Spaniarde frō that place which he pretendes to haue amongst the warlike Nations. Yet if any man chuse rather to referte himselfe to experience then to these Philosophicall reasons, I haue sufficient to content him, if he be a man that will be contented with reason. I say then, that before this last hundred yeares, the Spanish Nation was had in no reputation for feates of armes. And for prooef, I report mee to the testimonie of Histories. I say moreouer, that since that time looke how often the Princes of Spaine haue placed the chiefeſt strength of their armes, in bandes of the Spanish Nation, they haue alwayes receiued the ouerthrow. The battels of *Ravenna*, & *SeriZoles* do ſufficiently prooue my ſaying. On the contrarie, if they haue had any aduantages ouer vs, as at *Pavia*, *saint Quintins*, and at *Graueling*, they ought to thanke the Almaynes, and Englishmen for it. I confesse that vnder the conduct of the Emperour *Charles*, they were brought to ſome order of discipline; which they do yet, and ſhall continue as long as it ſhall please God to vſe them for the execution of his iuft vengeance. For it is he that both giueth and taketh vertue to and from men, when and as oftentimes as he himſelfe liſteth, as the Poet *Homer* hath very well noted, ſaying:

**God virtue gives, God virtue takes from men,
As often as it pleaseth him, and when.**

11 And although the Spaniardes surpass all other Nations
in the world in vaine and foolish bragging, when they fall in
old age into F 2 question

question of their owne prowesse and valiancie, yet do they labour to surmount themselves in this impudent boasting when they once come to speake of their treasures and riches. And for as much as this is the chief foundatiō of their imaginatiōne greatnessse, I will stand somewhat the longer on this point and will make it knownen, that if they had but the third part of that riches which they imagine they haue, they shold be thre times richer then they are. The Egyptians reported in their Histories, that in the Temple of *Jupiter* there was a piller made of fourt *Emerauds*, having eueryc one of them fortē cubites of length: whereat *Theophrastus* iested pleasantly, and with great reason: Such like tales are found in the Spanish Historiographers, concerning the Isle of *Zipangrie*, where these good fellowes would faine make vs to beleue, that flies carrie double pike staves. Touching the treasures of *Pera*, to make vs vnderstande that their reportes are made by imitation of *Lucians* true tales, they seeme not to haue forgotten any thing vntoldē, sauing that in the Cabinet of *Atapaliba*, they found a whole hundred of Diamonds, every one of them as bigge at least, as an Ostriches ege. But laying aside theselyes which can not be beleued of any but of such as beleue the reall veritie of *Ouid* his *Metamorphosis*. Let vs consider that these riches come not into the king of Spaine his coffers, like grasse in a medowe, that is to say, without any cost, but on the contrarie, that the carriage cost him deere. Let vs consider farther, that other Nations, and especially the Frenchmen haue learned the way to *Pera*, who fearing perhaps least the Spaniardes might perish in the sea by being ouer-laden, do diuerse times of meere charitie, and good will yeldē them so much succour as to take some part of their burden into their owne ships. Yea so courteous & friendly be our Frenchmen, that they constraine the Spaniardes whether they will or no, to receiue the effectes and testimonies of this their charitable

Theophrastus
Histor.

charitable courtesie. Besides all this, the Indians begin to waxe shrewd lads, and to make no more so much account of glasses, pins, and such other Spanish giftes: peraduenture because some bodie hath made them taste this saying of *Sophocles*.

Ἐχθρῶν ἀδεματία σύγχρονη ἐν ὀνίσμα.

Though faire the giftes of foes may seeme,
Unfriendly alwayes do them deeme.

Sophoc. in
Aias.

And if other causes wanted, is it possible that the possession of a thing so ill gotten should endure long? Do we thinke there is any Indian vnder the subiection of the Spaniardes, which cryeth not ten thousand times a day in his language this sentence of *Aristophanes*?

οὐτοὶ πραγμάτων δέλον γενέσθαι
παρεγγερούσις διασκέψη.

Alas how hard a thing it is to serue against ones will,
a master that of wit, of sense, and reason can no kill.

Aristoph-
anes in Pluto

Aristotle sayth, that a countrie is possessed and helde by a Tyrant, in the same manner that mens bodies are with an agew. How many sighes, and groanes do we thinke that the poore Americans, (being by such a feruent feuer so long tormented) cast foorth, which mount vp to the eares of him that holdeth the sterne, of the matters of this world? Do we thinke that the hande of God is shortned, that hee can not when he sees time, execute the threatnings which he hath vttered by the mouth of his Prophet against these murtherrers, robbers, and wasters? Where is that state in the world, be it never so flourishing, that can be exempted from decay and vtter ouerthrowe? What wisedome, what counsell, what force is it that can warrant it out of the hande of the almighty and cuerliuing God? Mischief runneth vp and downe (saith *Euripides*) from house to house, in most rich and exquisite wordes.

Arist. Me-
taphys.
lib. 1. ca. 3.

Ezay. 33.

οὐτοὶ πραγμάτων
παρεγγερούσις
διασκέψη
οὐτοὶ πραγμάτων
παρεγγερούσις
διασκέψη
οὐτοὶ πραγμάτων
παρεγγερούσις
διασκέψη

Euripides
in Elektra.

corruptionis in rebus publicis, sed ille arbitrio. Et quod in rebus publicis
honestos viros per se non existent, sed in rebus publicis
sunt avarissimi homines.

Mischief from house to house doth go,
As minde which passeth to and fro.

ni. codicis
v. 11.

The same with greater reason may be sayde of Monarchies, in which we may see from day to day the accomplishment of this threatening which is so wisely set downe by Hesiodus speaking of Iupiter.

Hesiod.
oper. & di-
cibus.

Πειθεὶς αἰρίζειν μηνίδες, καὶ αἰδηλούς αἴτεις

Πειθεὶς Τίτινες σκολέδες, καὶ αὐγλυχούς τύρρανούς.

He soone puls downe the mighty ones,
and poore from dust doth rayse:
He soone correctes the crooked ones,
and rootes out wicked waies.

Vitellius
lib. 4.

Theox. 129

Caius II. 20
& ultime.

D. de Nox-
al. Action.

Genefis. 20

Which is then scene especially, when the sinnes as well of the Prince, as of the people, enforce God to breake his patience. The Mathematicians holde that the augmentation of the greatnessse of thinges maketh them seeme to approach neare vnto our sight, though in verie truth they approach not at all. But with the sinnes of men it fareth much otherwise, which being heaped one on the other, doo approach and present themselves before the sight of the liuing God, who oftentimes punishmenteth the people in the Prince, and the Prince in the people; whose iustice is not ruled by the same square that mens iudgements are directed: in the which (according to the Lawyers) *Noxa caput sequitur*, that is, *Penaltie pursueth the principall*. Wheroof we haue a manifest and notable example in *Abimelech*, the king of *Gerar*, who excusing himselfe vnto *Abraham*, vseth these wordes, *What haue I done vnto thee? and wherein haue I offended thee, that*

that shou hast brought on me, and on my kingdom this great sinne? Nowe if Abimelech do call adulterie a great sinne, how shall we call that which we can not better describe, then by the conformitie thereof vnto that example set downe by *Suetonius* in the life of *Claudius*, in the xxvi. chapter of his booke. But if this speech be thought by any to be ouer darke, I refre him to that which the Lawyer *Paulus* hath written lib.

Suetonius.

39. vnder the title, *Si quis D. deritu nuptiarum*, and hee shall plainly vnderstande my meaning. But this is not all, for there are yet in this behalfe, other sortes of wickednesse, as much or more abhominable then the other, which they thinke to keepe secret, as if the saying of the Poet *Musens* had not place as well in this age as in the other.

Oft times we heare that sounded openly,
Which we thought had beeene done full secretly.

Now then, if we thinke Gods iustice to be immutable, let vs knowe and be well assured that he will visite such and so execrable wickednesse (which may with more honestie then ease be concealed) and will at last (how long soever he foreflowe it) make the Spaniars and their king to feele his vengeance.

A cruell Tyrant on whose wretched head,
The wrath of God to fall is readie spread.

To be short, the time will come ere long, and will not tare, that this wicked Nation which for these hundred yeares, hath made a trade of pilling and praying on others, shall be exposed for a pray vnto other Nations. The time (I say) draweth neare, when eyther the Indians, or else the king of Spaine his Lieutenants themselves, shall revolt from him,

and

and become executors of God his wrath, against the cōue-
roufnesse, and cructie of their owne Nation.

2. viii. 1582

Now remayneth to be considered the third and last point
of this discourse, that is to wit, whether of these two Nati-
ons being become our enemie, hath most meanes to annoy
vs. This point may well be cleared by that which hath bee[n]
discoursed in the former, touching the meanes which ey-
ther of those Nations hath to succour vs withall. Yet so it
is notwithstanding, that if the Englishmen should happen
to set foote in France, and especially in *Guyenne*, it would be
as hard for vs to stay a great part of the Nōbilitie and Gen-
tlemen from taking their part, as to buri[e] the remembrance
of the good turnes and pleasures, which their houses haue
receiued heretofore at the handes of the kings of Englande,
especially considering that the Charters of the greatest hou-
ses of *Guyen*, are as many testimonies, or rather as many au-
thenticall recordes of the obligation wherin they are bound
to the memorie of the kings of England: moreouer, falling
at ods with the English, euerie one knoweth that they haue
good ditches, largt and deepe, such as can not be drayned.

On the contrarie part, according to the opinion of that
great Captaine the Admirall *Chastillon*, it were no leſſe easie
then expedient for vs to ouercome the Spaniards, if we war-
red vpon them as we ought, that is to say, if cutting off the
riuer at the spring head, we would set vpon them at home in
their owne countrie of Spaine, which is a land very easie to
be entred into, being both vnfurnished of strong townes, &
which cannot but hardly be succoured frō Germanie, wher-
as on the contrarie part, our armes should be backed by the
countries of *Languedocke*, and *Gascoyne*, both of the well sto-
red with victuals, and men of warre, so that in France that
quarter may wel be called at this day the storehouse of Mars.
If I should adde nothing else, yet notwithstanding the
causes heretofore set downe being well considered, do suffi-
ciently

ciently conclude of themselues, that to preferre, or to match in equalitie the alliance of Spaine, to that of England, were openly to shew our selues vnnaturall, and vnkinde to our allies. It were (I say) to shew our selues blockish, and vnable to discerne the nature that matcheth iumpe with ours, from that which is cleane contrarie vnto ours; and manifestly to oppose our selues against the benefite, and welfare of our countrie.

The Spaniardes (as we haue sayde) are couetous, craftie, proud, and rauenous: Shall we change then our franke liberalitie into a flauish, and insatiable couetousnesse? shall we change the generositie of the Lyon, into the subtiltie of the Foxe? shall we become of gentle, and courteous; arrogant, and disdainefull? and of milde and meeke, cruell and rauenous? shall we so bereaue our selues of those vertues which haue gotten vs reputation through out the whole world, as that there shall remaine no more vnto vs of Frenchmen, but euен the bare name? And yet if we neerely consider the naturall disposition of the Spaniarde, that miserable exchange (whereof I now speake) will be euermore noted, as an euident and sure testimonie of our ouer great facilitie in making so great account of that Nation, who (resembling Iuie) hath alwaies made those to feele the most pernicious effects of her most hurtfull malice, which haue beeene most straightly allied vnto her.

Now for as much as prayer is accounted the duetie of an honest man towards his countrie; I pray to God O France, that thy preseruation & increase, may be a continuall mirror of his goodnessse & wisedome, which shineth in the gouernment of great estates and kingdomes. And that to the same end, he vouchsafe to open thy eies, that thou maiest discern that poysone mixt with hony, by the which they go about to worke thy ruine, and the vtter ouerthrowe of thy honour and greatnessse.

FINIS.